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ROUND TABLE

THE UNITED NATIONS

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A Radio Discussion by

- NORMAN ANGELL
- LOUIS GOTTSCHALK
- FREDERICK SCHUMAN

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

THE UNITED NATIONS

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

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NORMAN ANGELL, author and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, 1933

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK, Department of History, University of Chicago

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government, Williams College

* A radio discussion broadcast from New York City, over stations of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, June 14, 1942, at 2:30 P.M., Eastern War Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

THE UNITED NATIONS

The Axis governments and the governments of the vassal states look out upon a world united to destroy their tyranny over their own peoples and the peoples of other lands. This coalition of power behind a single cause has become known as the United Nations.

Who are the United Nations? What do they stand for and by what other common purposes are they bound together? Are there differences which tend to divide their efforts?

An understanding of these questions and their answers becomes vital as the continental wars draw together and the bulk of the world's people find themselves fighting side by side in battle with the soldiers of other and unfamiliar nations. To answer these questions, the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE *invited three expert observers to its microphone for a discussion of "The United Nations."*

MR. GOTTSCHALK: The phrase "United Nations" has been very much in the press of late, and it is possible that a number of our people don't quite understand who the constituent members of the United Nations are.

Schuman, as a political scientist, would you arrange them in categories for us?

MR. SCHUMAN: That term, so far as I can discover, was first used thirty-two years ago by Mr. Hamilton Holt, when he said: "The United States furnishes the model for the United Nations. The Declaration of Independence foreshadows the Declaration of Interdependence." President Roosevelt applied the term to the coalition embodied in the Alliance Agreement signed at Washington on New Year's Day of this year.[1]

[1] *See page 19.*

That agreement was signed at that time by the representatives of twenty-six governments. The Free French are regarded by the British as the twenty-seventh member, although our own State Department doesn't seem to regard them as such; and Mexico is the twenty-eighth member.

In that coalition there are five great powers in terms of territory and population—that is, actual or potential—America, Britain, the Soviet Union, India, and China (which is to be discussed on the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE next week). There are four British Dominions. There are eight European governments in exile; and there are ten Latin-American republics—all the republics of the Caribbean area—but not yet any of the republics of South America.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: What keeps these United Nations together?

SIR NORMAN: It's pretty clear what keeps them together. They are all in peril. We are united because we are at war. But the tragic reflection is this: If we had been united when we were at peace, there would have been no war. That seems to me to be a lesson for the future.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Good! I subscribe to that wholeheartedly.

It seems important to me that we should remember that we are united not only because we have the same enemies; I hope it will be possible for us to remain united because we have certain ideals in common.

But I should like to raise the question of the degree of interdependence of these United Nations. Is there an interdependence that you think is important to underline?

MR. SCHUMAN: I think we agree that we're fighting a total war and realize that the future possibilities of victory for the United Nations depend upon what happens this summer in China, in Russia, and in India.

But perhaps the interdependence of all the United Nations in the total war has not yet been incorporated adequately into the treaty arrangements that prevail among them nor into the agencies through which they cooperate. I have the feeling that we are still actually fighting a series of regional wars, with inadequate coordination among the various war activities among the United Nations.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: We ought to remember, too, that if any one of these wars is fought as a sectional war, it's going to be disastrous to the whole. Should, for example, Japan defeat China, without anyone going to the help of China, the next step of Japan would be to attack Russia. Russia would thereupon have to fight a war on two fronts. Her chances of victory would be limited. If she were defeated by Germany therefor,

DARKNESS CLOSES IN ON THE AXIS

England would be Germany's next victim, and we would be the next. So this is a global war, and it cannot be fought in sections.

SIR NORMAN: Yes, I think we should try to profit by experience and see why it is that the Grand Alliance of the last war went to pieces. I believe it went to pieces for this reason: The whole did not give sufficient assurance to each member that that member would be defended.

Take what happened immediately after the war and when the belligerents were gathered in Paris. One state came forward with a suggested frontier. And the Big Four, who then ruled the roost, said, "Oh, but this is dreadful. We can't give you that frontier." "All right," said the state in question. "If we surrender that frontier and draw one that is juster, we shall be weak. And if we're weaker, we shall be attacked. Now if we are attacked, will you, the Big Four, defend us?" And the Big Four always mumbled, but they didn't give that guarantee.[2] It seems to me that there is a principle there that is operative in wartime as much as in peacetime.

MR. SCHUMAN: You mean that we ought to have felt then (as we ought to feel now) that no nation can live alone and like it and that the security and defense of each one of the United Nations now depends upon the creation of affirmative procedures of common defense.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Let me interrupt at this point to raise a question that Sir Norman has suggested, indirectly, about miscellaneous alliances —bipartisan agreements among two or three of the United Nations rather than agreements of one with all and all with each. Doesn't that seem to you to be one of the weaknesses of the United Nations?

MR. SCHUMAN: It does. I think that's a result of the fact that this coalition has come into being as a result of a whole series of bilateral engagements. The only universal, multilateral engagement to which all the nations are committed is the declaration signed at Washington on New Year's Day.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Then we are agreed that this is a global war and that the more globally it is fought the better it will be.

What is likely to keep the United Nations acting together, now that they have come together? Don't you think there is a growing revulsion to

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[2] *In the Peace Conference after World War I all the Allied and Associated powers were represented, but the "Big Four"—England, France, Italy, and the United States—made the important decisions. Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, Georges Clemenceau, and Orlando held one hundred and forty-five meetings behind closed doors from March 24 to May 7, in which the whole treaty was put into shape.*

naziism, for example, among other examples, that might help to bring them together?

MR. SCHUMAN: Yes. As our enemies grow more desperate and indulge in more and more terrorist acts, our growing revulsion becomes a stronger bond of unity. We noted that Secretary Hull said the other day, of the mass murder by the Nazis of the men in the Czech village of Liditz, that Hitler has revived practices so utterly inhuman and bestial as to be unworthy of savages. But a unity based on moral revulsion or on fear is a kind of negative unity, isn't it?

SIR NORMAN: Yes. The first thing we have to achieve, it seems to me, is an active sense that we have to hang together if we're not to be hanged separately.

MR. SCHUMAN: Benjamin Franklin said that first, didn't he?

SIR NORMAN: I believe he did.

That will come, it seems to me, from a strong nucleus or core. Let me revert, for a moment, to the way in which the Grand Alliance went to pieces, almost before the last war was over. There was the state to which I have referred that had misgivings as to whether it would be defended. It wanted guarantees, and it said in effect: "We don't want guarantees from Guatemala. We don't want guarantees from twenty-five anonymous states. We want guarantees from the United States, Britain, and Russia."

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Excellent! I subscribe to that too. But at the same time, although I like to think of myself as a hardheaded historian who pays the proper respect to economic interests, emotion and sentiment play an important part in history. And I should say in this connection that we ought not to forget (although a great part of the population tends to forget) that we are fighting an ideological war too. We mustn't forget the enthusiasm that greeted the Atlantic Charter, when President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill announced the principles, the democratic and economic principles, that they hoped might prevail as a result of this war. We mustn't forget the Four Freedoms—the tremendous appeal that they made among the statesmen of the world, as one after another of them announced adherence to the Four Freedoms. Does that strike you as nonsense?

MR. SCHUMAN: Not at all! I think you're quite right in emphasizing the need of even clearer statements of our common purposes as a basis of common actions.

But, as we think of that (and I think this was the point Sir Norman was trying to make a moment ago), we ought not to neglect the power aspects of the problem of winning the war and organizing the peace. And certainly the initiative in terms of organizing power must rest with the great powers of the world. That was your point, was it not, Sir Norman?

SIR NORMAN: Yes, and also this: You will link the sense of nationality, of fighting for your country, to a combination of twenty-seven nations, if a given nation, like France, for instance, or any other that is now fighting for its life, feels that it is defended by this great new combination. You link national feeling to the recognition of the need for collective action for defense.

I wonder if you'd be interested in a little personal experience which I had nearly twenty years ago, which illustrates the relation of security to intense national feeling. I happened to be a go-between at a certain stage between a French prime minister and a British one. And the French prime minister said this to me: "I'm going to your prime minister. I'm going to ask him once more if he will give a definite undertaking to defend France if the Boche attacks."

I went to the British prime minister and asked him, in effect, what chance there would be for the Frenchman to get this assurance. And he said, in effect: If France behaves well, she won't be attacked by Germany.

MR. SCHUMAN: That's just about what most Americans said at the time, too, wasn't it?

SIR NORMAN: It was, I think, the sort of feeling we had just then. But here we were complaining about the action of France, of her behavior toward this nascent German republic, the Weimar Republic. I tried to put it to my people this way: If you want good behavior on the part of France to Germany, if you want to give the German republic a chance of life, then undertake to defend France. Because if you don't, France will say, "We've no security from Britain and America, who have repudiated the Tripartite Guarantee. Our only hope is to weaken Germany, and we intend to do it."

"If you want to stop that," I said, "for Heaven's sake guarantee the safety of France on one condition—that she behave well toward the Weimar Republic."

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That is a point I should like to underline, at the risk of gilding the lily, with this statement: If security is given to the victors, they will be more lenient with the conquered; and, as a consequence,

security is the protection of the weak as well as of the strong and of the conquered as well as of the conquerors. That point is very significant.

MR. SCHUMAN: Yes, and perhaps more than that the point is that the unfortunate manifestations of nationalism in the way of policies, of militarism, and of frenzied quests for security can be overcome or diminished only through the organization of international guarantees, affording security to all the members of the community of nations. And perhaps our hope of overcoming nationalism as a divisive force among the United Nations lies there. Do you think so, Sir Norman?

SIR NORMAN: I do. That is my point: If the nationalist feels that he has self-preservation, the defense of national life, the right to national life, in a unity of several nations, even his nationalist feelings will begin to support that unity.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: We agree that the thing that keeps the powers together, and is likely to continue to keep them together, is the need for international security and that they also have certain aims, certain ideals of an economic and political nature that they will try to aim for in unison.

Another question we must try to answer is this: Do there seem to be certain divisive features, certain suspicions, that will keep the United Nations from acting in collaboration as well as they otherwise might?

MR. SCHUMAN: The sentiments of nationalism as they manifested themselves in the past certainly constitute a divisive feature. I assume, also, that what we refer to as "imperialism" represents a possible danger or at least a current source of criticism. There are all sorts of people in the United States who have harsh things to say about British imperialism, for example, and even Russian or communist imperialism.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: How would the success of the United Nations in the war add to the security of India vis-à-vis Great Britain?

SIR NORMAN: In a very direct way! You see, the hesitations of Britain about giving India the same kind of freedom which has been granted to Ireland arises from this fact: The cautious Briton has said, "We desire Indian freedom, but suppose as the result of freedom there were disintegration and internal conflicts, laying the country open to invasion, and the resources and manpower of four hundred million people more or less passed into the hands of an enemy? This would simply split and render indefensible the British system, which stretches from Britain to Australia and New Zealand."[3]

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[3] *See the* ROUND TABLE (*No. 212*) *"India," broadcast April 5, 1942.*

In other words, they hesitate to create on a great scale in India the situation which has actually been created by the independence of Eire. As late as 1938, Britain occupied naval bases in southern Ireland. In that year, however, De Valera's government suggested to the British government that relations between the two countries would be improved if Britain would evacuate the naval bases in southern Ireland. Britain did so, as a contribution to good feeling between the two countries, with the result you know in the North Atlantic; and the terrific difficulty of meeting the submarine menace with those ports in neutral hands.

MR. SCHUMAN: That situation is the result of a desire or demand for self-government without a willingness to assume those duties to the community of nations which ought to go with self-government.

SIR NORMAN: Yes. Now, about India. If India's misgivings could in some measure be overcome by an undertaking from the United States, China, and Russia to the general effect: "We stand to guarantee your autonomy and independence"; and, on the other hand, if those nations will say to Britain: "We guarantee now and in the future your complete security against aggression, and we will help to defend your system," then it seems to me you have the basis of an agreement.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: There are a large number of people in the United States who would say your answer is unsatisfactory because you have left out the British Tories. Now, you are a member of the Labour party, despite the fact that you bear a title, and perhaps you might not be an altogether unbiased authority on the Tories. Nevertheless, I should like to hear your opinion.

SIR NORMAN: As a historian, you know that most of the radicals come from what I think you term the "upper classes." A title in England (if I may add this in parentheses) is very little more today than a medal which the authorities hang onto a man's name instead of on his coat. But, apart from that, what has been the record of Britain (Tory or otherwise) in the matter of empire and imperialism? For forty or fifty years, or longer, a great process of "de-imperialization" has gone on. Canada has, without war, won that independence for which the Thirteen Colonies had to fight. So have Australia and New Zealand.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: May I interject a few statistics which bear on this point? There are less than two hundred people in England today who, after taxes have been taken away from them, have ten thousand dollars a year to spend.

I also find that what would be the equivalent of fifteen million American women are serving in England either in the armed forces or in war industries. That indicates that there is a tremendous load upon both Tories and lower classes.

MR. SCHUMAN: That ought to be an effective answer to those Americans, who still seem to be fairly numerous, who believe that Britain is not pulling her full share of the load. We ought to bear in mind that 80 per cent of Britain's wartime output is being shipped abroad and that every second tank made in Britain is being sent to Russia.

SIR NORMAN: Another astonishing thing is this: I believe that Great Britain is accused of maintaining a wonderfully satanic organ of propaganda. The truth is that Britain has never told her story effectively to the outside world.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: She certainly doesn't decorate her releases very well. They are very dull-looking as a matter of fact.

But we must take up another question which is often raised in letters to the ROUND TABLE. That is the question of Russian imperialism. A suspicion of Russia is very rife in this country, isn't it?

MR. SCHUMAN: Suspicion of communism rather than suspicion of Russia, wouldn't you say?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: A *fear* of communism.

MR. SCHUMAN: I can't help but feel that fear of communism in a way has been the nemesis of our age. It was the fear of communism, not communism, that delivered Italy and Germany into the hands of the Fascist tyranny. It was the fear of communism that prevented the formation of united nations before the war in time to prevent the war.

And I was very much impressed in my various travels in Russia by the very fact that our distrust of communism is matched by Russian distrust for the Western democracies. The Soviet leaders remember quite well that, after the defeat of Germany in World War I, British and American troops invaded Soviet Russia. And they remember that the Western appeasers of yesterday hoped to find safety by encouraging Hitler to move against Russia.

But it seems to me, in view of the events of the last week, that we ought to feel encouraged about the dissipation of that mutual fear and distrust between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. We have the announcement by President Roosevelt on Thursday of full understanding

having been reached with Premier Molotov.[4] We have the signature by Maxim Litvinov of the new Lease-Lend Agreement between Washington and Moscow. We have, most important perhaps, the signing on the twenty-sixth of May, by Foreign Minister Anthony Eden and Premier Molotov, of the new Twenty-Year Mutual Assistance Pact.[5]

That new pact, let us remember, not only pledges full Anglo-Soviet collaboration but it pledges both parties to noninterference in the internal affairs of other states and to abstention from territorial aggrandizement.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That reassures me a great deal. I was very much disturbed about the attitude the Russians had taken toward the Baltic States, because I feared that they might seek these nations, not for territorial aggrandizement, but for strategic reasons. If the United Nations are an effective force, the strategic reasons for Russia's holding the Baltic nations disappear, don't they?

MR. SCHUMAN: That is the point Sir Norman was making a short while ago.

SIR NORMAN: Don't you think that the fact that this agreement was concluded between a conservative prime minister and a conservative foreign minister (Eden) ought perhaps to alleviate the misgivings of those who don't see eye to eye economically with the Soviets?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Yes.

MR. SCHUMAN: I profoundly hope so. It seems to me that these agreements ought to pave the way for all-out collaboration between the Soviet Union and ourselves in war and peace alike—a collaboration which already manifests itself in the announced American bombing raids against the Nazi armies in southern Russia; a collaboration which must be the basis for building the world-order of the future.[6]

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Do you feel that the announcement in the recent pact that the nations would not interfere with one another's domestic situation frees us still further from the fear of communism?

MR. SCHUMAN: I do, very definitely. Of course, I feel we shall have to restate somewhat our past definitions of international questions and

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[4] *See page 25.*

[5] *See page 22.*

[6] *On June 13, 1942, a fleet of United States bombers manned by American crews bombed the Ploesti oil fields in Rumania. The United States had declared war upon Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary on June 5, 1942.*

domestic questions; but at least the Soviet Union has pledged itself in this agreement to noninterference.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: While there are suspicions that divide the United Nations, those suspicions are diminishing in number; and within the last week, particularly, we've had good reason to feel that the Tories are a bugaboo that need no longer be feared as much as they used to be and that the dangers of Russian communism, even more so, are a myth. And, as a consequence, there is every reason to believe, or to hope at least, that in the future the United Nations will remain united, with the factors now dividing them gradually disappearing.

I should like to raise a fifth point, and that is whether at this stage of the game it would be desirable to enunciate peace aims.

MR. SCHUMAN: I think there can be no doubt that a clearer enunciation of peace aims could be used, and will be used, as a very effective weapon of political and psychological warfare. And if I may summarize my own conclusions about the whole issue, it seems to me that effective unity for victory will sooner or later require a Supreme Command, operating under a Supreme Council of the United Nations. Such an arrangement was suggested recently by Mr. Walter Nash, deputy prime minister of New Zealand.

I think, also, that effective unity for building a free world-order will require a common formulation of principles and purposes which will go beyond the Atlantic Charter in facing frankly the problem of world-organization. Sumner Welles said two weeks ago at Arlington: "The United Nations must become the nucleus of a world-organization of the future, to determine the final terms of a just and honest and durable peace. The form which such a world-organization should take will emerge out of our common thought and experience."[7]

But I believe, if the enterprise is to succeed, it must be based on what Vice-President Wallace last month referred to, in his eloquent address to the Free World Association, as "the people's revolution in a coming century of the common man."[8]

I believe, further, that the enterprise must be based on some such

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[7] *Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State, on May 30, 1942, declared that America will disarm all aggressors, punish those responsible for the war, set up an international police force in which the United States will join, and establish a new world-organization. Mr. Welles forecast a permanent system of general security.*

[8] *See Henry Wallace, "The Price of Free World Victory," "Vital Speeches," June 1, 1942.*

principle as was embodied in Winston Churchill's offer to France, just two years ago, on the eve of the betrayal of France by the Vichy men. He proposed that France and Britian should no longer be two nations but one Franco-British Union.

The constitution of the union will provide for joint organs of defense, foreign, financial, and economic policies, and for common citizenship. That idea was indorsed by the legislature of North Carolina in its resolution of March of last year and is, as we all know, the basis of the program of the Federal Union Organization for building the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World.[9]

If the peoples of the United Nations can dedicate themselves to the establishment of a permanent, world-wide federation of free peoples, based on common rights and common duties, they cannot fail to win the war and the peace alike.

And what, Sir Norman, would be your general conclusions?

SIR NORMAN: The kind of peace that we shall get will come out of the degree of unity which we show in fighting the war. Constitutions are important, but constitutions can't work unless those who have to work them understand their principles.

What I mean is this: During the nineteenth century you had certain Latin-American republics who adopted the Constitution of the United States. But it didn't give United States' results. It didn't prevent revolutions every six months; and the constitution didn't save them.

The Weimar Republic (the German Republic after the war) had the most democratic constitution in the world, but it didn't convert Germany into a democratic people.

MR. SCHUMAN: It was a republic without republicans.

SIR NORMAN: Precisely! Our task now is to understand the broad principles; to apply these principles of unity as we prosecute the war; to take the necessary steps, rapidly and without hesitation; to take every opportunity of coming together, even if it be bilaterally at first; and then to extend these bilateral agreements to a larger organization.

Let us make those special arrangements which are stretched all the way from the Canadian–United States Agreement to the lease of British bases to America. Let us extend those things to a universal agreement. And on that universal agreement we shall be able to make peace.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: We have agreed that this is a global war, that each

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[9]*See C. K. Streit, "Union Now." New York: Harper & Bros., 1939.*

member-nation must play its part, and that no member of it may be neglected by the others. There are certain ideals for which all the nations wish to fight together, and we ought to have a Supreme Council and other united agencies to conduct this war.

The amount of agreement among us is striking but not surprising. It ought to be self-evident to everyone interested in winning the war that close collaboration among the United Nations is desirable to that end and that, the closer the collaboration is now, the greater will be the likelihood of its continuation after the war.

United, I believe we shall stand; divided, I fear we shall fall.

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QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on pages 14–15.

*

1. Who are the United Nations? Do you agree with Sir Norman Angell that "if we had been united when we were at peace, there would have been no war"? Discuss.

2. In your opinion what unites the United Nations? Are they united by common ideals or only because of a common peril? How does the unity of the United Nations contrast with the unity of the Axis?

3. Do you agree with Mr. Schuman that "we are still actually fighting a series of regional wars" and do not have sufficient coordination of the war activities of the United Nations? What are the weaknesses of the organization of the United Nations? What should be done to correct them?

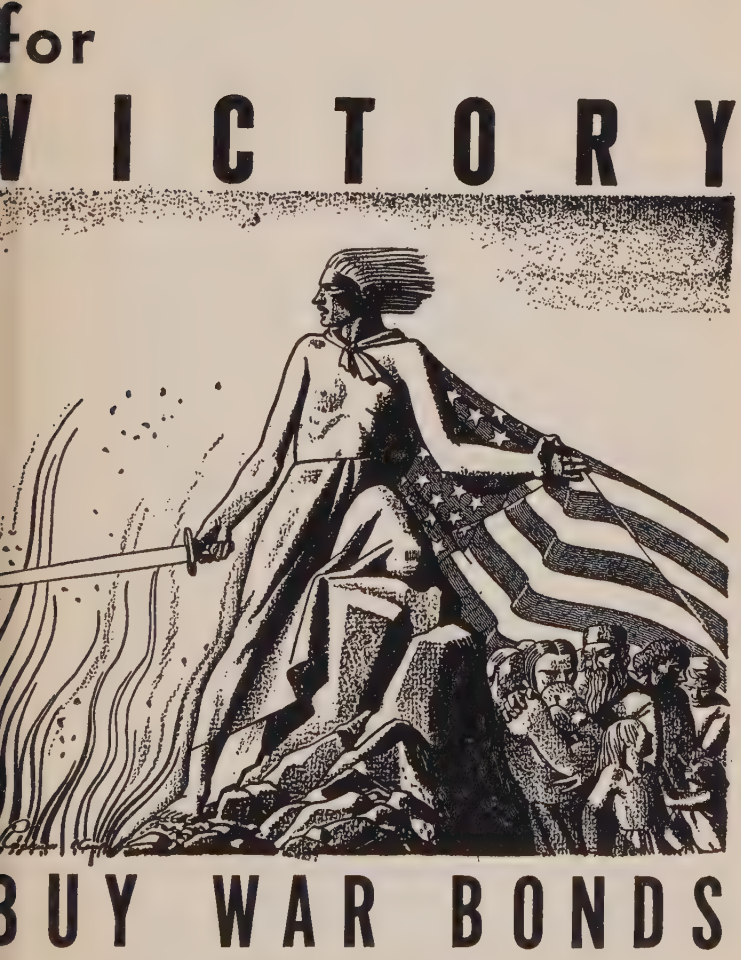
4. Do you think it is possible to link the feeling of nationalism to the recognition of the need for international organization? Do you feel there is a contradiction between nationalism and participation in any kind of international organization?

5. What obstacles and suspicions tend to divide the United Nations? For example, do you think Russian communism makes impossible the participation by the United States in anything but an emergency war association with Russia? Or has there been effective dissipation of a mutual fear and distrust? Does British imperialism, trade rivalry between the United States and Britain, "white-man supremacy," etc., divide the United Nations? Discuss.

6. Have the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, the Declaration by the United Nations, and the other agreements that have been made supplied a clear enough statement of war and peace aims?

7. Do you agree with Sir Norman Angell that "the kind of peace we shall get will depend upon the degree of unity which we show in fighting the war"?

3. Do you think the peoples of the United Nations appreciate the necessity and understand the principles involved in a satisfactorily workable permanent organization of the United Nations? Should the United States participate in the effort to set up a post-war international organization? Discuss.



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THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

Joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to seek no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
August 14, 1941

ALLIED-GOVERNMENTS' RESOLUTIONS

London, September 24, 1941

The Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, and the representatives of General de Gaulle, leader of Free Frenchmen, having taken note of the declaration recently drawn up by the President of the U.S.A. and the Prime Minister (Mr. Winston Churchill) on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, now make known their adherence to the common principles of policy set forth in that declaration and their intention to cooperate to the best of their ability in making them effective.

JOINT DECLARATION OF UNITED NATIONS

A Joint Declaration by The United States of America, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

The Governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter,

Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, *Declare:*

(1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

(2) Each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Done at Washington,

January First, 194

The United States of America
by FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
by WINSTON CHURCHILL

On Behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
MAXIM LITVINOFF
Ambassador

National Government of the Republic of China
TSE VUNG SOONG
Minister for Foreign Affairs

The Commonwealth of Australia
by R. G. CASEY

The Kingdom of Belgium
by C^te^ R. V. D. STRATEN

Canada
by LEIGHTON MCCARTHY

The Republic of Costa Rica
by LUIS FERNANDEZ

The Republic of Cuba
by AURELIO F. CONCHESO

Czechoslovak Republic
by V. S. HURBAN

The Dominican Republic
by J. M. TRONCOSO

The Republic of El Salvador
by C. A. ALFARO

The Kingdom of Greece
by CIMON P. DIAMANTOPOULOS

The Republic of Guatemala
by ENRIQUE LOPEZ-HERRARTE

La Republique d'Haiti
par FERNAND DENNIS

The Republic of Honduras
by JULIAN R. CACERES

India
GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg
by HUGUES LE GALLAIS

The Kingdom of the Netherlands
A. LOUDON

Signed on Behalf of the Government of the Dominion of New Zealand
by FRANK LANGSTONE

The Republic of Nicaragua
by LEON DEBAYLE

The Kingdom of Norway
by W. MUNTHE DE MORGENSTIERNE

The Republic of Panama
by JAEN GUARDIA

The Republic of Poland
by JAN CIECHANOWSKI

The Union of South Africa
by RALPH W. CLOSE

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia
by CONSTANTIN A. FOTITCH

POLISH-CZECHOSLOVAK AGREEMENT

January 23, 1942

The governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia have agreed on the following points with regard to the future Confederation of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

1. The two governments desire that the Polish-Czechoslovak Confederation should embrace other states of the European area with which the vital interests of Poland and Czechoslovakia are linked up.

2. The purpose of the Confederation is to assure common policy with egard to foreign affairs; defense; economic and financial matters; social uestions; transport, posts and telegraphs.

3. The Confederation will have a common general staff, whose task it vill be to prepare the means of defense, while in the event of war a unified upreme command will be appointed.

4. The Confederation will coordinate the policy of foreign trade and ustoms tariffs of the states forming the Confederation with a view to the onclusion of a customs union.

5. The Confederation will have an agreed monetary policy. Autono- nous banks of issue of the states forming the Confederation will be main- ained. It will be their task to assure that the parity established between he various national currencies shall be permanently maintained.

6. The Confederation will coordinate the financial policies of the states orming the Confederation, especially with regard to taxation.

7. The development and administration of railway, road, water and ir transport, as also of the telecommunication services, will be carried out ccording to a common plan. An identical tariff for postal and telecom- nunication services will be binding on all the territories of the Confedera- ion. The states in possession of sea and inland harbours will take into onsideration the economic interests of the Confederation as a whole. Moreover, the states forming the Confederation will mutually support he interests of the sea and inland harbours of the states forming the Con- ederation.

8. Coordination will also be applied in the realm of social policy of the arious states of the Confederation.

9. The Confederation will assure cooperation among its members in ducational and cultural matters.

10. Questions of nationality will remain within the competence of the ndividual states forming the Confederation. The passenger traffic be- ween the various states included in the Confederation will take place ithout any restrictions, in particular without passports and visas. The uestion of free domicile and of right to exercise any gainful occupation f the citizens of the individual states forming the Confederation over the hole territory of the Confederation will be regulated.

11. The question of the mutual recognition by the states forming the onfederation of school and professional diplomas, of documents and sen-

tences of court, as well as the question of mutual legal aid, in particula in the execution of court sentences, will be regulated.

12. The constitutions of the individual states included in the Con federation will guarantee to the citizens of these states the followin rights: freedom of conscience, personal freedom, freedom of learning, free dom of the spoken and written word, freedom of organization and associa tion, equality of all citizens before the law, free admission of all citizen to the performance of all state functions, the independence of the court of law, and the control of government by the representative nationa bodies by means of free elections.

13. Both governments have agreed that in order to ensure the commo policy with regard to the above mentioned spheres, the establishment o common organs of the Confederation will be necessary.

14. The states included in the Confederation will jointly defray th costs of its maintenance.

SOVIET-BRITISH AGREEMENT

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and British Dominion Beyond Seas, Emperor of India, and the Presidium of the Supreme Coun cil of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Desiring to confirm the stipulations of the agreement between Hi Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government o the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for joint action in the war agains Germany signed at Moscow, July 12, 1941, and to replace them by forma treaty;

Desiring to contribute after the war to the maintenance of peace an to the prevention of further aggression by Germany or the States asso ciated with her in acts of aggression in Europe;

Desiring, moreover, to give expression to their intention to collaborate closely with one another as well as with the other United Nations at the peace settlement and during the ensuing period of reconstruction on a basis of the principles enunciated in the declaration made Aug. 14, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, to which the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has adhered;

Desiring finally to provide for mutual assistance in the event of attack upon either high contracting party by Germany or any of the States as sociated with her in acts of aggression in Europe;

Have decided to conclude a treaty for that purpose and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

The Right Hon. Anthony Eden, M.P., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

M. Vyacheslaff Mikhailovich Molotoff, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Part One

Article I

In virtue of the alliance established between the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the high contracting parties mutually undertake to afford one another military and other assistance and support of all kinds in war against Germany and all those States which are associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article II

The high contracting parties undertake not to enter into any negotiations with the Hitlerite Government or any other government in Germany that does not clearly renounce all aggression intentions, and not to negotiate or conclude, except by mutual consent, any armistice or peace treaty with Germany or any other State associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Part Two

Article III

1. The high contracting parties declare their desire to unite with other like-minded States in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period.

2. Pending adoption of such proposals, they will after termination of hostilities take all measures in their power to render impossible the repetition of aggression and violation of peace by Germany or any of the States associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article IV

Should either of the high contracting parties during the post-war period become involved in hostilities with Germany or any of the States men-

tioned in Article III, Section 2, in consequence of the attack by that Stat against that party, the other high contracting party will at once give t the contracting party so involved in hostilities all military and other sup port and assistance in his power.

This article shall remain in force until the high contracting parties, b mutual agreement, shall recognize that it is superseded by adoption c proposals contemplated in Article III, Section 1. In default of adoptio of such proposals, it shall remain in force for a period of twenty years an thereafter until terminated by either high contracting party as provided i Article VIII.

Article V

The high contracting parties, having regard to the interests of securit of each of them, agree to work together in close and friendly collaboratio after re-establishment of peace for the organization of security and eco nomic prosperity in Europe.

They will take into account the interests of the United Nations i these objects and they will act in accordance with the two principles of no seeking territorial aggrandizement for themselves and of non-interferenc in the internal affairs of other States.

Article VI

The high contracting parties agree to render one another all possibl economic assistance after the war.

Article VII

Each high contracting party undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other high con tracting party.

Article VIII

The present treaty is subject to ratification in the shortest possibl time and instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Moscow as soo as possible.

It comes into force immediately on the exchange of instruments o ratification and shall thereupon replace the agreement between the Gov ernment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and His Majesty' Government in the United Kingdom signed at Moscow July 12, 1941.

Part One of the present treaty shall remain in force until the re-estab lishment of peace between the high contracting parties and Germany an the powers associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Part Two of the present treaty shall remain in force for a period o twenty years. Thereafter, unless twelve months' notice has been give by either party to terminate the treaty at the end of the said period o

twenty years, it shall continue in force until twelve months after either high contracting party shall have given notice to the other in writing of his intention to terminate it.

In witness whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate in London on the twenty-sixth day of May, 1942, in the Russian and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

U.S.–SOVIET TALKS

Text of the White House statement on conversations between President Roosevelt and Soviet Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov:

The People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. V. M. Molotov, following the invitation of the President of the United States of America, arrived in Washington on May 29 and was for some time the President's guest. This visit to Washington afforded an opportunity for a friendly exchange of views between the President and his advisors on one hand and Mr. V. M. Molotov and his party on the other.

Among those who participated in the conversations were the Soviet ambassador in the United States, Mr. Maxim Litvinov, Mr. Harry Hopkins, Chief of Staff Gen. Marshall, and Commander in Chief of the United States Navy, Adm. Ernest J. King. Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, joined in subsequent conversations on non-military matters.

In the course of the conversations full understanding was reached with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942. In addition, the measures for increasing and speeding up the supplies of planes, tanks and other kinds of war materials from the United States to the Soviet Union were discussed.† Further were discussed the fundamental problems of co-operation of the Soviet Union and the United States in safeguarding peace and security to the freedom-loving peoples after the war.

Both sides state with satisfaction the unity of their views on all these questions.

At the conclusion of the visit the President asked Mr. Molotov to inform Mr. Stalin on his behalf that he feels these conversations have been most useful in establishing a basis for fruitful and closer relationship between the two governments in the pursuit of the common objectives of the United Nations.

† *See below, "Agreement between the United States and the U.S.S.R."*

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE U.S.S.R.

WHEREAS, The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republi and the United States of America declare that they are engaged in a c operative undertaking, together with every other nation or people of lik mind, to the end of laying the basis of a just and enduring world pea securing order under law to themselves and all nations; and

WHEREAS, The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republi and the United States of America, as signatories of the Declaration b United Nations of January 1, 1942, have subscribed to a common pro gram of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration, know as the Atlantic Charter, made on August 14, 1941 by the President of th United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdo of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the basic principles of which we adhered to by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic on September 24, 1941; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States of America has dete mined, pursuant to the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, that the de fense of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics against aggression is vita to the defense of the United States of America; and

WHEREAS, The United States of America has extended and is continu ing to extend to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics aid in resisting ag gression; and

WHEREAS, It is expedient that the final determination of the terms an conditions upon which the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialis Republics receives such aid and of the benefits to be received by the Unit ed States of America in return therefor should be deferred until the exten of the defense aid is known and until the progress of events makes cleare the final terms and conditions and benefits which will be in the mutual in terests of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United State of America and will promote the establishment and maintenance of worl peace; and

WHEREAS, The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Repub lics and the United States of America are mutually desirous of concludin now a preliminary agreement in regard to the provision of defense ai and in regard to certain considerations which shall be taken into accoun in determining such terms and conditions and the making of such a agreement has been in all respects duly authorized, and all acts, condi tions and formalities which it may have been necessary to perform, ful

fill or execute prior to the making of such an agreement in conformity with the laws either of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or of the United States of America have been performed, fulfilled or executed as required;

The undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective Governments for that purpose, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Government of the United States of America will continue to supply the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with such defense articles, defense services, and defense information as the President of the United States of America shall authorize to be transferred or provided.

ARTICLE II

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will continue to contribute to the defense of the United States of America and the strengthening thereof and will provide such articles, services, facilities or information as it may be in a position to supply.

ARTICLE III

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will not without the consent of the President of the United States of America transfer title to, or possession of, any defense article or defense information transferred to it under the Act of March 11, 1941 of the Congress of the United States of America or permit the use thereof by anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

ARTICLE IV

If, as a result of the transfer to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of any defense article or defense information, it becomes necessary for that Government to take any action or make any payment in order fully to protect any of the rights of a citizen of the United States of America who has patent rights in and to any such defense article or information, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will take such action or make such payment when requested to do so by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE V

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will return to the United States of America at the end of the present emergency, as

determined by the President of the United States of America, such d
fense articles transferred under this Agreement as shall not have been d
stroyed, lost or consumed and as shall be determined by the President
be useful in the defense of the United States of America or of the Weste
Hemisphere or to be otherwise of use to the United States of America.

ARTICLE VI

In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the Unite
States of America by the Government of the Union of Soviet Sociali
Republics full cognizance shall be taken of all property, services, inform
tion, facilities, or other benefits or considerations provided by the Gover
ment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics subsequent to March 1
1941, and accepted or acknowledged by the President on behalf of th
United States of America.

ARTICLE VII

In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the Unite
States of America by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist R
publics in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of March 1
1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burde
commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advan
tageous economic relations between them and the betterment of worl
wide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provision fo
agreed action by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Unite
States of America, open to participation by all other countries of lik
mind, directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and do
mestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and con
sumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty an
welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminator
treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs an
other trade barriers; and, in general, to the attainment of all the economi
objectives set forth in the Joint Declaration made on August 14, 1941
by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Ministe
of the United Kingdom, the basic principles of which were adhered to b
the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Septembe
24, 1941.

At an early convenient date, conversations shall be begun between th
two Governments with a view to determining, in the light of governin
economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above-stated objec
tives by their own agreed action and of seeking the agreed action of othe
like-minded Governments.

ARTICLE VIII

This Agreement shall take effect as from this day's date. It shall continue in force until a date to be agreed upon by the two Governments.

Signed and sealed at Washington in duplicate this eleventh day of June, 1942.

For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

MAXIM LITVINOV
Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at Washington

For the Government of the United States of America:

CORDELL HULL
Secretary of State of the United States of America

REGARDING EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA

*The Secretary of State to the Appointed Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs**

MY DEAR MR. MINISTER:

I acknowledge the receipt of and thank you for your letter of May 26, 1941 in regard to your visit to Washington and to our conversations during your short sojourn here.

* * * *

As you are also aware, the Government and the people of the United States have long had a profound interest in the welfare and progress of China. It goes without saying that the Government of the United States, in continuation of steps already taken toward meeting China's aspirations for readjustment of anomalies in its international relations, expects when conditions of peace again prevail to move rapidly, by processes of orderly negotiation and agreement with the Chinese Government, toward relinquishment of the last of certain rights of a special character which this country, together with other countries, has long possessed in China by virtue of agreements providing for extraterritorial jurisdiction and related practices.

* * * *

CORDELL HULL
Washington, May 31, 1941

[*A similar exchange of notes between Foreign Minister Quo and British Ambassador Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr took place on July 14, 1941, in which Great Britain agreed to discuss as well the return of the International Settlement in Shanghai.*—ED.]

* *Quo Tai-Chi.*

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TOPIC FOR JUNE 21, 1942

CHINA

ELIOT JANEWAY, Contributing Editor, *Asia* Magazine

HARLEY F. MACNAIR, Professor of Far Eastern History and Institutions, Department of History, University of Chicago

NATHANIEL PEFFER, Associate Professor of International Relations, Department of Government, Columbia University

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